

as the "classificatory system of relationship". This system is intimately connected with the existence of the social divisions known as "clans." In the Andamans there are no clans, and the system of relationship is fundamentally different from all the classificatory systems. 000

To understand the Andamanese system it is necessary to examine the terms by which they denote the different kinds of relationship which are recognized¹. In many societies having the classificatory system of relationship the terms which are used to denote relationship are also used as terms of address, just as we use the terms "Father" and "Mother." In the Andamans this is not so. There are special words that are used as terms of address, but these do not imply any relationship between the speaker and the person spoken to. In the North Andaman those terms are *Maia* (= Sir) and *Mimi* (= Lady). These are used by younger men and women in speaking to older persons. For the rest, persons are addressed freely by their personal names. There are no terms of address that imply any relationship of consanguinity between a person speaking and the person whom he addresses. This is an important feature of the Andamanese system, distinguishing it from the systems of many other primitive societies. 600

The following is a list of terms used to denote relationship in the North Andaman. There seems to be very little difference in this matter between the four tribes of the North (*Aka-Čari*, *Aka-Kora*, *Aka-Bo* and *Aka-Jeru*).

¹ The classificatory system of relationship was first studied and named by Lewis H. Morgan, in *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family*, Washington, Smithsonian Institution, 1871. The subject is also discussed in the same author's *Ancient Society*. Although there has been a good deal of attention paid to the systems of relationship of savage tribes since the time of Morgan, there is no general work on the subject that supersedes these two books.

² The terms used in any society to denote relationships are of interest to the ethnologist as an important means to the discovery of the relationship system (i.e. the system of juridical and moral institutions) existing in the same society. Without a thorough knowledge of the terms in use and their exact meanings it is impossible to discover the rights and duties of relatives one to another. It is, however, sometimes forgotten that the study of terms of relationship is not an end in itself but a means to a more important study.

<i>aka-mai</i>	his father
<i>aka-mimi</i>	his mother
<i>ot-tire</i>	his child
<i>ot-otoatue</i>	his older brother
<i>ot-otoatue-čip</i>	his older sister
<i>ot-arai-čulute</i>	his younger brother
<i>ot-arai-čulute-čip</i>	his younger sister
<i>ot-e-bui</i> or <i>e-bui</i>	his wife (her husband)
<i>e-pota-čiu</i>	his father-in-law
<i>e-pota-čip</i>	his mother-in-law
<i>ot-otone</i>	his son-in-law.

Aka-mai and *aka-mimi*. The words for "father" and "mother" are derived from the terms of address *Maia* and *Mimi* by the addition in each case of the prefix *aka-*. By itself the term *Maia* is used by any man or woman in speaking to a man older than himself or herself without implying any relation between them beyond that of respective age. The addition of the prefix *aka-* changes the word, giving it the meaning "the father of somebody." Thus *Maia Bora* means "Mr Bora" or "Sir Bora," if we may so translate it, but *Bora aka-mai* means "Bora's father," and *aka-mai Bora* means "his or her father Bora." The *Aka-feru* equivalent for "my father" is *ʔa-mai*, the *ʔ* being the personal pronoun "my," after which the prefix *aka-* is contracted to *a-*. Similarly "thy father" is *ŋ'a-mai* and "their father" or "their fathers" is *n'a-mai*. The word *aka-mimi* is in every respect exactly parallel to *aka-mai*. These two terms are only used when it is necessary to refer to the actual father or mother of anybody. For example, if a man be asked *Ačiu ŋ'a-mai bi?* (Who your father is?), he will reply by giving the name of his own father.

The stem *maia* clearly relates to the social position of the father of a family. A man who is a father, or while not having any children, is married and occupies an equivalent social position to a father, is addressed by the term which shows his social position, *Maia*. When I call a man *Maia*, I do not imply that he is *my* father nor that he is related to me at all, but only that he is *a* father. On the other hand, the prefix *aka-* added to the stem makes a possessive form, so that *aka-mai* means "his father" and *ʔa-mai* means "my father." The word *mimi*

is exactly parallel. By itself, the stem simply shows that the person addressed is *a* mother, while *aka-mimi* means "his mother." 601 •

Ot-tire. The word "child," when there is no reference to the child of some particular person, is translated *e-tire*, *-tire* being the stem and *e-* the prefix¹. With a change of prefix from *-e* to *ot-*, a possessive form is made, so that *ot-tire* always means "his or her child," with reference to some particular person understood. Thus *Bora ot-tire* would mean "the child of Bora," while *Bora e-tire* or *e-tire Bora* would mean "the child Bora." The phrase *t'ot-tire* (my child) is used by either a man or a woman to denote his or her child.

Ot-otoatue and *ot-arai-čulute*. I was unable to find in the languages of the North Andaman any words which could properly be translated "brother" or "sister." The two words here given are used by the Andamanese to denote persons older or younger than the speaker, whether they be brothers and sisters or not. The derivation of *ot-otoatue* could not be ascertained, but the word means "he who was born before me," and it is used in this sense to denote any person of the speaker's generation who is older than himself. If it is necessary to emphasise the female sex of the person spoken of, the suffix *-čip* is added. An alternative word of exactly the same meaning is *ot-arečupu* (fem. *ot-areč-čip*). The word *ot-arai-čulute* is formed from the stem *čulu* or *čulutu* meaning "following" or "after," which always takes the prefix *arai-*. (This prefix conveys a reference to position in time or space.) The stem is found in such phrases as *tio ŋ'arai-čulutu-bom*, "I will follow you" (literally: *tio* = I, *ŋ'* = thou, *čulutu* = after, and *-bom*, verbal suffix), and *tarai-čulik* "afterwards" (*t-arai-čulu-ik*). The prefix *ot-*

¹ In the Andamanese languages a large number of words are formed from a stem and a prefix. *E-*, *ot-*, *aka-*, *ara-*, *ab-* etc. are prefixes of this kind. The function of the prefixes is (1) to show that the object denoted by the word is in a dependent relation to some other object understood, as for instance that it is part of that other object, and (2) to modify the reference of the stem, as for instance while *e-tire* means the offspring of an animal or an human being, *era-tire* means the offspring of a tree or plant (the young shoots). For a description of these prefixes the reader may be referred to the work of Mr Portman, *Notes on the Languages of the South Andaman Group of Tribes*.

● 601 added in front of the usual prefix *arai-* determines the particular use of the word as referring to human beings. Thus the word *ot-arai-ēlute* means, literally, "he or she who was born after me." It is used in this sense by a man or woman to denote any person of the same generation who is younger than himself. The suffix *-ēip* may be added to denote a female. Alternative words of the same meaning are *ot-ara-liēu* and *ot-ara-bela*.

These words are not, properly speaking, terms of relationship, but serve only to denote the respective ages of two persons. I did not discover any terms whatever by which a man can distinguish his own brother or sister from any other man or woman of the same age.

Ot-e-bui. The stem *-bui* means "to marry," as in *n' e-bui-om* = they are married. "My husband" or "my wife" is simply *t'e-bui* or *t'ot-e-bui*.

E-pota-ēiu and *e-pota-ēip*. The derivation of these words was not discovered. They are the terms by which a man distinguishes his wife's father and mother, and a woman her husband's father and mother.

Ot-otone. The word and its meaning are somewhat doubtful. It was sometimes used by a man to denote his daughter's husband, and perhaps also his son's wife. I once heard it applied to a younger sister's husband. It may be compared with the same word as used in the South Andaman to be mentioned presently.

So far as could be discovered, there are no words in the languages of the North Andaman for grandfather, grandmother, uncle, aunt, cousin, etc. The terms given above can be combined to describe relatives of this kind, as

<i>T'a-mimi aka-mai</i>	my mother's father
<i>Ot-e-bui ot-arai-ēlute</i>	his wife's younger brother
<i>ŋ'ot-a-mai ot-arai-ēlute</i>	thy father's younger brother
<i>T'ot-otoatue ot-tire</i>	my older brother's child

These compound terms are not often used, however.

The terms of relationship of the *Akar-Bale* tribe may be taken as representative of the tribes of the South Andaman. The following list contains all the more important of them.

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<i>da</i>	father
<i>ab-atr</i>	father
<i>in</i>	mother
<i>ar-bua</i>	child
<i>ar-kodire</i>	child (father speaking)
<i>ab-atet</i>	child (mother speaking)
<i>mama</i>	grandparent
<i>jat</i>	grandchild
<i>en-toaka-ya</i>	older brother or sister
<i>ar-dotot</i>	younger brother or sister
<i>otoni</i>	son-in-law
<i>oten</i>	daughter-in-law
<i>ab-i-ya</i>	consort (husband or wife)
<i>aka-yat</i>	parent of child's consort
<i>aka-bua</i>	consort's younger brother or sister
<i>ep-taruo-ya</i>	step relative
<i>ot-lat-ya</i>	relative by adoption
<i>aka-kuam</i>	younger relative
<i>ab-uga</i>	older relative (male)
<i>ab-upal</i>	older relative (female).

Da and *in*. *Da* is the common term of address used when speaking to an older man to whom the speaker wishes to show respect. A man will speak of his own father as *dege da*, *dege* being the personal pronoun "my" as used before a word that has no prefix. The term *In* is the common term of address used in speaking to women. A man or woman will refer to his or her own mother as *deg' in*. The use of these two terms as applied to parents is very similar to the use of *aka-mai* and *aka-mimi* in the North Andaman, with the difference that in *Akar-Bale* the stem *da* or *in* does not take a prefix to modify its meaning. While the use of the terms *Da* and *In* as terms of address does not in the least imply that there is any relationship between the person speaking and the person addressed, yet the phrase *dege da* would in general be understood as referring to the speaker's own father.

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Ab-atr. This is a word descriptive of the relationship of a father to his child. I never heard a man refer to his own father by this term, but it is heard in such phrases as *deg' in l'ab-atr* = my mother's father. It conveys a definite notion of the physiological relation between a father and his children, and might be translated "he who caused me to be conceived." * There is

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•601 probably a feminine equivalent meaning "mother," but it was not noted.

Ar-bua, *ar-kodire* and *ab-atet*. The *Akar-Bale* word for "infant" is *ab-liga* or *ab-dareka*. The latter word is the phonetic equivalent of the *e-tire* of the Northern languages. A parent often speaks of his or her infant son as *d'ab-bula*, and of his infant daughter as *d'ab-pal*, *ab-bula* and *ab-pal* being the terms for "male" and "female". The exact use of the term *ar-bua* is difficult to determine. The stem *-bua* may be used by itself without a prefix. *Dege bua* (my child) would refer, I believe, only to the child of the speaker. On the other hand, a man would use the term *d'ar-bua* as referring not only to his own child but also to the child of a brother or a sister, or even to a person who was not related to him at all. So far as it could be determined, it seems that a man or woman might apply this term (*ar-bua*) to any person of the same generation as his or her children, whether a relative or not. It thus means "a person of the same generation as my own children," and describes, not relationship, but respective age. The word *ar-kodire* refers to the own child of a man, and *ab-atet* similarly refers to the own child of a woman. The two words together are thus equivalent to the *ot-tire* of the North Andaman, the *Akar-Bale* distinguishing between the offspring of a man (*ar-kodire*) and the offspring of a woman (*ab-atet*).

Mama. The word is translated above as meaning "grandparent," but it has a wider meaning than this. It is used as a term of address to convey more respect than is conveyed by the terms *Da* and *In*, and is thus used in addressing any man or woman who is considerably older than the speaker. With the personal pronoun, *dege mama*, it may be applied by a man or woman to any of his grandparents, and also to his father-in-law and mother-in-law, and to other senior relatives.

fat. The word was explained to me by the natives as meaning "grandchild." It seems to be a sort of reciprocal of *mama*, and is apparently applicable by any old man or woman to any child of the same generation as his or her own grandchildren.

¹ *Dege bula* and *dege pal* mean "my husband" and "my wife" respectively.

En-toaka-ga and *ar-dotot*. These two words are used in exactly the same way as the words *ot-otoatue* and *ot-arai-čulute* of the North Andaman. They are not properly terms of relationship, but may be equally used in referring to non-relatives. *En-toaka-ga* means "he who was born before me," and *ar-dotot* means "he who was born after me." I was not able to discover any word by which a person could distinguish his own brother or sister from others of the same age. It is not certain, however, that such a word does not exist.

Otoni and *oten*. These are masculine and feminine forms of the same word, and are used to denote a daughter's husband and a son's wife. *Otoni* is also applied to a younger sister's husband, and *oten* to a younger brother's wife. The derivation of the words was not discovered.

Aka-yat. This is the native name for the relationship subsisting between a person's parents and his parents-in-law. My own mother or father is *aka-yat* to my wife's father or mother.

Aka-bua. The word is derived from the stem *bua*, meaning "child." It is applied by a man to the younger brothers and sisters of his wife, and by a woman to the younger brothers and sisters of her husband.

Ab-i-ga. The word is translated "consort," and means either husband or wife. It is derived from the verbal stem *-i-* meaning "to marry" (*on-i-re*), *ab-* being the prefix, and *-ga* the verbal suffix.

Ep-taruo-ga. The word is used to denote a step-child, or a younger step-brother or sister.

Ot-čat-ga. The word means "adopted." "My adopted child" is simply expressed as *d'ot-čat-ga*, while "my foster father" is *dege da ot-čat-ga*. The stem is *-čat-*, *-ga* being the verbal suffix and *ot-* the prefix.

Aka-kuam. In spite of several enquiries, I was unable to ascertain the significance of this word. I heard it applied on different occasions to a younger brother or sister, to a younger first cousin, and to the brothers and sisters of a wife. The only suitable translation would seem to be "my younger relative," but it is not certain that it even implies any relationship at all.

- 601 It is perhaps really a term denoting respective social status and is used by a married man to denote other married men who are somewhat younger than himself, and with whom he is on friendly terms.

Ab-čuga and *ab-čupal*. These are the masculine and feminine forms of one word. Mr Portman¹ gives them as meaning "married man" and "married woman." I heard them used, however, with the personal pronoun. Thus a man applied the term *ab-čuga* to his older brother, his older sister's husband, and to his father's brother. In this usage these two terms seem to be in a sense reciprocal to *aka-kuam*. A younger married man will refer to older married men and women as his *ab-čuga* and *ab-čupal*, while they will call him *aka-kuam*.

In his work on the Andamanese, Mr E. H. Man gives a long list of terms of relationship for the *Aka-Bea* tribe². It will be of some interest to compare the terms there given with those of the *Akar-Bale* tribe described above.

D'ab-maiola (*D'ah-mai-ola*). This is translated by Mr Man as "father." In *Aka-Bea* the term *Maia* is the term of address corresponding to the *Da* of *Akar-Bale* and to the *Mai* of the North Andaman. The suffix *-ola*, added to this and other terms of address serves to convey additional respect, as *Maia*, *Mai-cla*, *Čana*, *Čan-ola*, *Mama*, *Mam-ola*. Thus *ab-mai-ola* corresponds to the *aka-mai* of the Northern languages.

Dia Maia. This is given by Mr Man as applicable to the following relatives:—my father's brother, my mother's brother, my father's sister's husband, my mother's sister's husband, my father's father's brother's (or sister's) son, my husband's grandfather, my wife's grandfather, my wife's sister's husband (if elder), my husband's sister's husband (if elder).

Dia maiola. My grandfather, my grandfather's brother, my grandmother's brother, my elder sister's husband.

It must be remembered that these terms are not properly terms of relationship at all. Any man who is older than the speaker is *Maia* or *Mai-ola* to him, the latter implying a slightly

¹ *Notes on the Languages of the South Andaman Group of Tribes.*

² Man, *op. cit.* p. 421. The *dia*, or the *d'* before a prefix, in the words of this list is the pronoun "my."

higher degree of respect than the former. It is probable that the three different terms given above are not used by the natives with the very precise distinctions that are drawn by Mr Man. It may be noted that Mr Portman writes in this connection:—
 “*Maia* is an Honorific, equivalent to the English ‘Sir,’ and is used when addressing a male elder. A son calls his father ‘Sir,’ and uses no other word in speaking to, or of, him. A pronoun emphasises the relationship, as: *Dia maiola*,¹
 My Father”

D' ab-ċanola. Given by Mr Man as meaning “my mother.” It is the feminine equivalent of *d' ab-mai-ola*, *Ċana* being the feminine of *Maia*, and corresponding to the *In* of *Akar-Bale* and the *Mimi* of *Aka-ġeru*.

Dia ċanola. This is given as the *Aka-Bea* translation of the following:—my father's sister, my mother's sister, my father's brother's wife, my mother's brother's wife, my grandmother, my great aunt, my father's father's sister's daughter, my mother's mother's sister's daughter, my husband's grandmother, my wife's grandmother, my husband's sister (if senior and a mother), my elder brother's wife (if a mother). In its formation the term is the feminine equivalent of *dia mai-ola*, while in its use it is the equivalent both of this term and of *dia maia*. This serves to show that there is no real precise distinction between *dia maia* and *dia mai-ola*, such as Mr Man's list would seem to imply. *Dia ċan-ola* is not, properly speaking, a term of relationship. Any married woman senior to the speaker is entitled to be addressed as *Ċana* or *Ċan-ola*.

D' ab-ċabil. Mr Man gives this as translating “my father, my step-father.” The feminine equivalent would seem to be *d' ab-ċanola*, which is given for “my mother” and “my step-mother.” Mr Portman gives *ab-ċabil* and *ab-ċana* as the *Aka-Bea* terms for “married man” and “married woman².” The two words are the equivalents of the *Akar-Bale* *ab-ċuga* and *ab-ċupal*.

D' ar-odi-ġa. This word is given by Mr Man as one of the equivalents for “my father.” It is parallel to the *Akar-Bale*

¹ Portman, *Notes on the Languages of the South Andaman Group of Tribes*, p. 255.

² *Op. cit.* p. 100.

601 term *ab-atr*, and is strictly a term of physiological relationship, meaning "he who caused me to be conceived."

D'ab-eti-ya. This is translated by Mr Man as "my mother." It is the corresponding term to *d'ar-odi-ya*, and refers to the physiological relationship.

D'ab-weji-ya or *d'ab-wejeri-ya*. This also means "my mother," and is only an alternative word for the above. The stems *eti* and *weji* or *wejeri* seem to be two stems meaning the same thing.

D'ar-odi-re or *d'ar-odi-yate*. Given by Mr Man as meaning "my son" (if over three years of age, father speaking). It is the equivalent of the *Akar-Bale ar-kodire*.

D'ab-eti-re, *d'ab-eti-yate*, *d'ab-weji-re*, *d'ab-weji-yate*, *d'ab-wejeri-re*, *d'ab-wejeri-yate*. These are all given by Mr Man as translating "my son" (if over three years of age, mother speaking). They are equivalent to the *Akar-Bale ab-atet*.

The above words seem to be derived from three stems, *-odi-*, *-eti-*, and *-weji-* (or *-wejeri-*), the stems *-eti-* and *-weji-* having exactly the same meaning, and belonging, perhaps, to different dialects. The words are formed by the addition of the prefixes *ar-* and *ab-*, and the verbal suffixes *-ya*, *-re*, *-yate*. Thus we have *ar-odi-ya*, "father," and *ar-odi-re* or *ar-odi-yate*, "son." Similarly we have *ab-eti-ya*, "mother," and *ab-eti-re* or *ab-eti-yate*, "son" (mother speaking), while similar equivalents are made from the stem *-weji-*. The words given as meaning "son" may also be used to mean "daughter," but when it is necessary to emphasise the female sex, the suffix *-pail* (meaning "female") is added, as *d'ar-odi-re-pail*, *d'ab-eti-re-pail*.

Dia ota and *dia kata*. These are given by Mr Man as meaning respectively "my son" and "my daughter" (if under three years of age, either parent speaking). *Ota* and *kata* are the terms for the male and female genitals.

Dia ba. This is given by Mr Man as meaning "my daughter" (if over three years of age, either parent speaking). It is the phonetic equivalent of *dege bua* in *Akar-Bale*.

Dia ba-lola. Given as the equivalent of:—my grandson (either grandparent speaking), my brother's grandson (male or female speaking), my sister's grandson (male or female speaking).

The same phrase with the addition of *-pail*, meaning "female," is given as equivalent to:—my granddaughter, my brother's granddaughter, and my sister's granddaughter (male or female speaking).

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D'ar-ba. According to Mr Man this term is applicable by a male or female to the son of a brother, a sister, a half-brother, a half-sister, or of a male or female first cousin. With the addition of *-pail*, meaning "female," it is applicable to the daughter of any of the above.

Ad en-toba-re, ad en-toba-ya, ad en-toka-re, ad en-toka-ya. These terms are given by Mr Man as alternative equivalents for "my elder brother (male or female speaking)." The stem is *-toba-* or *-toka-*, with the prefix *en-* and the verbal suffix *-re* or *-ya*. The *ad* is a special form of the first personal pronoun, generally *d'*. With the addition of *-pail*, meaning "female," the term is applicable to an elder sister. The word corresponds, both phonetically and in meaning, to the *Akar-Bale en-toaka-ya*.

D'ar-doati-ya. Given as meaning "my younger brother (male or female speaking)." With the addition of *-pail*, it is applied to a younger sister. Mr Man gives the word as being also applicable to a first cousin, if younger than the speaker.

D'ar-weji-ya or *d'ar-wejeri-ya*. These are given by Mr Man as alternative terms for "younger brother," and, with the addition of *-pail*, for "younger sister." It is to be noted that the stem *-weji-* or *-wejeri-* is the same that occurs in one of the terms for "mother," but that the prefix is different, being in this case *ar-* instead of *ab-*.

Dia mama. This is given as meaning "my wife's brother, or my husband's brother (if of equal standing)."

Dia mam-ola. Given as the equivalent of the following:—my husband's father, my husband's mother, my wife's father, my wife's mother, my husband's elder brother, my wife's brother (if older), my husband's sister's husband (if older), my wife's sister (if older and a mother), my husband's brother's wife (if older), my wife's brother's wife (if older).

Mama and *Mam-ola* are terms of address in *Aka-Bca*. *Mam-ola* implies a somewhat greater degree of respect than

•601 *Mama*, and this in its turn is more respectful than *Mai-ola* or *Maia*.

D'aka-kam. Mr Man gives this as a term applicable to the following relatives:—my younger brother, my younger half-brother. With the addition of *-pail*, it is applicable to a younger sister or half-sister.

Dia otoniya and *dia otin*. The first of these terms is given as meaning:—my son-in-law (male or female speaking), and my younger sister's husband (male or female speaking). The second term is feminine, and is given as applicable to the following:—daughter-in-law, husband's sister (if younger), husband's brother's wife (if younger), wife's brother's wife (if younger). The terms are thus equivalent, phonetically and in meaning, to the *Akar-Bale* terms *otoni* and *oten*.

Aka-yakat. This is given as the relationship subsisting between a married couple's fathers-in-law, and between their mothers-in-law. It is the equivalent of the *Akar-Bale* word *aka-yat*.

D'aka-ba-bula and *d'aka-ba-pail*. The meaning of the first of these is given as "my husband's brother (if younger)," and of the second as "my younger brother's wife." The suffixes *-bula* and *-pail* mean "male" and "female" respectively. The term *aka-ba* is the phonetic equivalent of the *Akar-Bale* word *aka-bua*. The latter seems to be applied to the younger brothers and sisters of a man's wife or of a woman's husband, and to these alone. The use of these terms and of the terms *otoni* and *oten*, as recorded from the *Akar-Bale* tribe, may be compared with the usage stated by Mr Man, as there is some disagreement. In the following table the *Aka-Bea* terms are given as they are found in Mr Man's list, while those of the *Akar-Bale* tribe are given from my own information.

	Aka-Bea	Akar-Bale
Husband's younger brother	<i>aka-ba-bula</i>	<i>aka-bua</i>
Husband's younger sister	<i>otin</i>	<i>aka-bua</i>
Wife's younger brother		<i>aka-bua</i>
Wife's younger sister		<i>aka-bua</i>
Younger brother's wife	<i>aka-ba-pail</i>	<i>oten</i>
Younger sister's husband	<i>otoniya</i>	<i>otoni</i>

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It will be observed that the *Akar-Bale* list is consistent and logical throughout. It seems probable that there is an error in Mr Man's list, and that "husband's younger sister" should be *aka-ba-pail* instead of *otin*, while "younger brother's wife" should be *otin* instead of *aka-ba-pail*. This would make the *Aka-Bea* list consistent with itself and with the *Akar-Bale* list.

Mr Man gives, in addition to the terms discussed above, a number of compound terms, which we may examine briefly.

D'ar-čabil-entoba-re. This is given as applicable to any first cousin or half-brother who is older than the speaker. The feminine form is given as *d'ar-čanol-a-entoba-yate*.

D'ar-čabil-entoba-re lai-ik-yate. This is applicable to the wife of any first cousin or half-brother, if older than the speaker. As *lai-ik-yate* means "his wife," this is a descriptive term. There is a similar term *dia čanol a-entoba-yate lai-ik-yate* for the husband of an older female cousin or half-sister.

D'ar-ba lai-ik-yate. This means "the wife of my *ar-ba*," and is therefore applicable to the wife of the son of a brother or sister or cousin, and to the husband of a daughter of a brother or sister or cousin.

There are a few other similar compounds that need not be given.

In Mr Man's list a step-son is given as *eb-aden-ire*. The word for adoption is *ot-čat-ga*, *d'ot-cat-ga* meaning "my adopted child" and *d'ab-mai-ot-čat-ga* "my adopted father."

The system of terms of relationship of the Andamanese is of great interest as being fundamentally different from the systems of other uncivilized peoples. It is by no means easy to discover the exact usage of the different terms that are mentioned above. It is, however, possible to gain a general idea, probably accurate in essentials, of the way in which the Andamanese languages express the notions of kinship.

We may consider first the terms of address and the terms of relationship formed from them. The terms of address are :—

Aka-Jeru	Aka-Bea	Akar-Bale	
<i>Maia</i> or <i>Mai</i>	<i>Da</i>	<i>Maia</i>	Sir
<i>Mimi</i>	<i>In</i>	<i>Cana</i>	Lady
.....	<i>Mama</i>	<i>Mama</i> or <i>mamola</i> .	

601 The first of these is used in addressing males and the second in addressing females, while the third may be used either for males or for females and implies a higher degree of respect than the others.

In all the languages of the Great Andaman a man refers to his own father and mother by adding a personal pronoun to the words meaning "Sir" and "Lady." In *Aka-Jeru* a man speaks of his father as *t'a-mai*, and of his mother as *t'a-mimi*, the *a-* being a contracted form of the prefix *aka-*. This prefix is always used in this way in the Northern languages. It is not possible to say *tičo maia*, which would be the literal equivalent of *dege da* in *Akar-Bale*. In the *Akar-Bale* language the translation of "my father" and "my mother" is *dege da* and *deg' in*, the *dege* being the personal pronoun "my" as used before a word that has no prefix. The same formation is present also in the *A-Puċikwar* and *Aka-Kəl* languages. For example in *Aka-Kəl* "my father" is *tiye tao*, and "my mother" *tiye in*. In the *Aka-Bea* language, according to the information given by Mr Man, the word *maia* (or *maiola*) may be used combined with a prefix, as in *d'ab-maiola* = "my father," or it may be used simply with the personal pronoun as *dia maia* or *dia maiola*. According to Mr Man these last two terms are applied not to a man's own father, but to the other persons whom he addresses as *maia*. This is contradicted by Mr Portman who gives *dia maiola* as the *Aka-Bea* for "my father."

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576 In the *Aka-Bea* and *Akar-Bale* languages (as also in *A-Puċikwar* and *Aka-Kəl*) a man always addresses his grandparent or his father-in-law or mother-in-law by the term *Mama* or *Mamola*. He is therefore able to refer to these persons by adding the personal pronoun to the term of address, as *dege mama* in *Akar-Bale*. This cannot, however, be regarded as properly a term denoting relationship, for a man may apply the term *Mama* to a man or woman to whom he is not related at all¹.

The next kind of words that we may consider are those that describe the respective social position of two persons. Such are the words *ot-otoatue* and *ot-arai-čulute* in *Aka-Jeru*, meaning

¹ The natives commonly applied the term to me, in the form *Mam-jula*.

"he who was born before me" and "he who was born after me" respectively. These terms do not, strictly speaking, convey any idea of consanguinity, although they are commonly used to refer to a brother or a sister. Exactly equivalent terms are found in all the languages, for example the *en-toaka-ya* and *ar-dot-ot* of *Akar-Bale*. I was not able to discover in *Aka-feru* nor yet in *Akar-Bale* any term to denote a brother or a sister. In *Aka-Bea*, however, Mr Man records the term *ar-weji-ya* or *ar-wejeri-ya*. The stem *-weji-* or *-wejeri-*, as we shall shortly see, is a verbal stem referring to the act of birth, *-ya* is a verbal suffix, and the prefix *ar-* conveys a reference to position in space or time. The whole word seems to mean "he or she who was born in the same womb as myself," and is therefore strictly a word meaning "brother or sister." It is possible that similar words exist in *Akar-feru* and *Akar-Bale*, but I never came across them.

Other terms descriptive of social status are the *Akar-Bale* terms *ab-éuga* and *ab-éupal* which refer to married men and women particularly those older than the speaker. These also are not properly terms of relationship, though a man may refer to some of his relatives as *d'ab-éuga*, adding the personal pronoun to what is properly a word descriptive of the social position of the person in question. In *Aka-Bea* the equivalent terms are *ab-éabil* and *ab-éana*. It would seem that the term *aka-kuam* (*aka-kam* in *Aka-Bea*) is of the same kind, being applicable by an older married man to a younger. At any rate I was unable to discover that it conveyed to the natives any notion of relationship.

There are a certain number of terms that are descriptive of definite relationships. In the North *ot-e-bui*, and in *Akar-Bale* *ab-i-ya* are both of them derived from verbal stems meaning "to marry" and are used to denote a husband or a wife. In the North I did not discover any term descriptive of a father or a mother save those derived from the terms of address. In *Akar-Bale* and *Aka-Bea* there are such terms; *ab-atr* in *Akar-Bale* means "father" while the word for "mother" was not noted; in *Aka-Bea* a father is *ar-odi-ya*, and a mother is *ab-eti-ya*. These words are descriptive of the physiological relation between a

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597 parent and a child. A man's adopted mother could not be his *ab-eti-ya*, for this term applies only to the woman from whose womb he issued. Similarly an adopted father or a step-father could not be *ab-atr* or *ar-odi-ya*. There are similar words for child, which also refer to the physiological relation of a child to its parent. In the North the stem *-tiré* means "offspring." The offspring of a plant, that is the young shoots, are denoted by the term *era-tire*, the prefix *era-* serving to convey a reference to trees and plants. The offspring of an animal or of a human being is *e-tire*. The word *e-tire* means "the child of somebody" without reference to any particular person as the parent. In the form *ot-tire* the word means "his or her child" with reference to some person understood. A man or woman cannot in strict accuracy apply the term *ot-tire* to his adopted child, though I believe that it might be used in this loose sense at times. An adopted child is "he whom I have adopted" *t'oi-éto-kom*. In *Akar-Bale* and *Aka-Bea* there are different terms for "child" according as the reference is to the child of a man or to that of a woman. Thus in *Akar-Bale* the child (in the physiological sense) of a father is *ar-kodire*, and the child of a mother is *ab-atet*. In *Aka-Bea* the physiological relation of a father and child is denoted by the verbal stem *-odi*. This stem takes the prefix *ar-*. The word for father is formed by adding the verbal suffix *-ya* (*ar-odi-ya*). The word for child (father speaking) is formed by means of the verbal suffix *-re* or *-yate* (*ar-odi-re* or *ar-odi-yate*). We may translate *d'ar-odi-ya* as meaning "he who caused me to be conceived" while *d'ar-odi-re* or *d'ar-odi-yate* means "him whom I caused to be conceived." In the same language the physiological relation of a mother and a child is denoted by the stem *-eti*. This stem takes the prefix *ab-*. A mother is *ab-eti-ya*, and the child of a mother is *ab-eti-re* or *ab-eti-yate*, the verbal suffixes being used in a way similar to that in the case of the terms for father and child. In *Aka-Bea* there is also a stem *-weji* or *-wejeri* which has exactly the same meaning as *-eti* and can be substituted for it in the terms meaning mother and child, as *ab-weji-ya* = mother, *ab-weji-re* = child.

are *e-pota-éiu* and *e-pota-éip* and *ot-otone* in the Northern languages. The derivations of these words has not been ascertained. Similar terms in *Akar-Bale* are *otoni* and *oten* and *aka-yat*. In this language I did not discover any word descriptive of the relationship of father-in-law or mother-in-law. Finally there are such terms as *ot-éat-ya* (adopted) and *ep-taruo-ya* (step-relative). 601 •

The most noteworthy feature of these terms is that it is impossible by means of them to deal with relationships that are at all distant. Thus there is no term by which a man can describe his grandfather. In *Akar-Bale* the phrase *dege mama* might mean a grandfather, but it might equally refer to a father-in-law. It is true that the simple terms may be combined as *Aka-feru* "*aka-mimi aka-mai*" = "his mother's father," or *Akar-Bale* "*deg' in l'ab-atr*" = "my mother's father," but these compounded terms are apparently not often used by the natives. A second noteworthy feature is the existence of terms to denote physiological relationships (as opposed to merely juridical relationships) such as the *Aka-Bea ar-odi-ya*, etc. Finally there is the apparent entire absence, so far as could be determined, of any classification of relatives such as is characteristic of the classificatory systems of relationship. Where there does seem to be some sort of approach to such classification, as in the use of the *Akar-Bale* term *dege mama*, we find that it is really based not on relationships of consanguinity and marriage, but on respective social status¹.

As, in the languages of the Andamans, there are few words serving to denote relationship, and on the contrary a 602
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¹ The systems of relationship of savage peoples are often very difficult to study, even with a thorough mastery of the native language. My account of the Andamanese system is not perhaps complete and is therefore open to error. Since the above account was written I have had the opportunity of studying in Australia several examples of "classificatory" systems of relationship, and can now say very definitely that such a system presents an extreme contrast to the system of the Andamans. My failure fully to comprehend the Andamanese system was partly due to the difficulties of the language, in which I did not have time to become expert, and partly to the nature of the Andamanese terms, of which it is by no means easy to discover the meaning, even with careful observation.

602 developed system of terms denoting social status, so in the
 601 social organisation of the Andamans there are very few special
 duties between relatives, and the conduct of persons to one
 another is chiefly determined by their respective social positions.
 This will become evident as we proceed, and it will thus be
 shown that there is a close connection between the way the
 natives denote relationships and the way in which their social
 life is affected by questions of relationship.

581 We have already seen that in the Andamanese social
 594 organisation the family is of great importance. A family is
 constituted by a permanent union between one man and one
 woman. In one of its aspects this union is a sexual one. By
 marriage a man acquires the sole right to sexual congress with
 the woman who becomes his wife. At the same time it is the
 duty of a married man to avoid sexual relations with other
 836 women whether married or unmarried. Promiscuous intercourse
 584 between the sexes is the rule before marriage, and no harm is
 thought of it. The love affairs of the boys and girls are carried
 on in secret, but the older members of the camp are generally
 fully aware of all that goes on. What generally happens is
 that after a time a youth forms an attachment with some girl
 and a marriage between them results from their love affair.

837 It is impossible, at the present time, to discover exactly how
 the Andamanese formerly regarded infidelity on the part of
 a wife or husband. In the Great Andaman there is great laxity
 in this matter at the present day. Quarrels sometimes arise
 when a husband discovers an intrigue between his wife and
 another man, but very often the husband seems to condone the
 adultery of his wife. Mr E. H. Man, writing on this subject,
 says that "conjugal fidelity till death is not the exception, but
 the rule," and adds, "It is undoubtedly true that breaches of
 morality have occasionally taken place among a few of the
 married persons who have resided for any length of time at Port
 Blair, but this is only what might be expected from constant
 association with the Indian convict attendants at the various
 homes; justice, however, demands that in judging of their moral
 characteristics we should consider only those who have been

602 his own mother, or any other woman of the same age. There is only a slight difference in connection with parents-in-law. A man would not be so familiar with his parents-in-law as he would with his parents or their brothers or sisters, and treats them with more deference and respect. This is borne out by the *Akar-Bale* custom of applying to a father-in-law or mother-in-law the same term of address (*Mama*) that is used in speaking to grandparents and others to whom it is required to show particular deference.

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572 In the same way there is very little difference between the way a man conducts himself towards his elder brother and his conduct towards any other man of the same age. Brothers are often close comrades, putting their huts next to one another in the same village, joining together whenever possible in hunting or fishing expeditions, and so on; but a man may have a comrade who is not his brother, whom he will treat in exactly the same way.

602 The general attitude of a married man to other married men somewhat younger than himself is very much that towards a younger brother. As between men and women one special duty appears in this connection. A married man may not and will not have any close dealings with the wife of a man younger than himself. It is not considered fitting that he should speak to her. If he wished to have any communication with her, he would do so through some third person. It would be regarded as a wrong thing to do if he were ever to touch her. The only explanation that the natives give of this custom is by saying that a man feels "shy" or "ashamed" towards his younger brother's or friend's wife. The custom is exactly the same with respect to the wife of any younger man, whether a brother, a cousin, or a stranger.

This custom depends on the distinction between older and younger. A man may be on terms of familiarity with the wife of a man older than himself, whom he would treat much as he would an elder sister.

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602 There is one special relationship which has peculiar duties attaching to it, and this is the relationship between the father and mother of a man on the one hand and the father and

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mother of the man's wife on the other. In the *Akar-Bale* language such persons are said to be *aka-yat* to one another. A man or a woman will not have any immediate dealings with a person who is his *aka-yat*. He will not speak to him, and if they should meet or be sitting near to one another they would avoid looking at each other. On the other hand a man is constantly sending presents to his *aka-yat*. The natives say that two persons in this relation feel "shy" or "ashamed." (There is only one word in Andamanese for these two English words, *ot-jete* in *Aka-jeru*.) The shyness begins at the moment when a marriage between their respective children is first discussed as a possibility, and lasts apparently till death.

As throwing a little light on this peculiar relation it may be mentioned that a similar relation exists between two men who have been through either the turtle-eating ceremony or the pig-eating ceremony (to be described in the next chapter) on the same occasion. Two such men will avoid any contact with one another, not speaking to nor looking at each other when they chance to meet, but on the other hand they will be constantly giving each other presents of all kinds, sending them through some third person.

The main features of the relationship system of the Andaman Islanders may be briefly summed up. The duties that one person owes to another are determined much less by their relation to one another by consanguinity and marriage, than by their respective ages and social status. Even within the family, which nevertheless is of importance, the duty of a child to a parent is very little different from his duty to any other person of the same age. There is very little of any special customs relating to conduct towards different kinds of relatives. Corresponding to this we find very few terms to denote relationships and a considerable development of the terms which denote age and social status. Thus a man's duties to his elder brother are much the same as those towards the other men of the same age, and we find that there is no word for "elder brother" but only a term by which a man distinguishes all the men of his own generation older than himself from those who are younger. Similarly there are no duties that a man owes to his father's

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[30] seniors, a good deal of flirtation, and often something more, is carried on by the young people without arousing any suspicions as to their sentiments for one another, until the affair has become too serious to be broken off, and has to end, sooner or later, in their marriage and start in life on their own account. In some cases, when the guardians have reason to believe that a lad has, notwithstanding his assurances to the contrary, a *sub silentio* attachment, they adopt the following method for testing the truth of his asseveration; on a given day it is arranged by the friends of the suspected couple that they shall (without the knowledge of either) be painted respectively with the red oxide of iron unguent, *kòt-ob-*, and the white clay *tá'la-ōg-*, for, as they would not meet till night-fall, the risk of their discovering the trap laid for them is reduced to a minimum, while a glance on the following morning would suffice to betray them if guilty, and the guardians' object would be attained, for, from shame at his secret being known, and his falsehood exposed, the youth feels in honour bound to break off his connection with the girl, at least for some time.

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597 Relationships.—1. In all the relations of life the question of propinquity is, in their eyes, of paramount importance, and marriage is only permissible between those who are known to be not even distantly connected, except by wedlock, with each other; so inexorable, indeed, is this rule, that it extends, and applies equally, to such as are related merely by the custom of adoption to which I have just referred.

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601 2. A first cousin, actual or by adoption, is regarded as a half-brother or half-sister, as the case may be, and nephews and nieces almost as sons and daughters, while the terms used to denote a grandfather, grandmother, grandson, and grand-daughter are equally applied to indicate respectively a grand-uncle, grand-aunt, grand-nephew, and grand-niece.

3. Parents, when addressing, or reterring to their children and not using their names, employ distinct terms, the father calling his son *dar ō'dire*, i.e., he that has been begotten by me, and his daughter *dar ō'dire-pail-*; while the mother makes use of the word *dab ē'tire*, i.e., he whom I have borne, for the former, and *dab ē'tire-pail-* for the latter; similarly, friends in speaking of children to their parents say respectively, *ngar ō'dire*, or *ngab ē'tire* (your son), *ngar ō'dire-pail-*, or *ngab ē'tire-pail-* (your daughter).¹

4. Uncles and aunts on the father's are not distinguished from those on the mother's side; relationships are traced in both lines, and the system with reference to either sex is identical.

¹ Foster-parents employ the terms *dōt chá'tnga-* and *dōt chá'tnga-pail-* in referring to their adopted son and daughter respectively.

5. In consequence of the shortness of their lives, their ignorance of any method of maintaining accurate records, and last, not least, the unavoidable complications arising from their system of adoption, it naturally follows that they fail in tracing, and therefore in recognising, relationships beyond the third generation. 601●

6. In addressing a senior male relative, the term *mai'a* or *mai'ola* is employed; if of equal standing, and a father, the same; but if not a parent, the term *mar* is prefixed to his name; if junior, he would be addressed by his name only. The same system applies to the females, with whom *chān'a*¹ or *chān'ola* takes the place of *mai'a* and *mai'ola*, and the "flower" name, to which I can now make but a brief allusion,² the place of *mar*; these terms, *mai'a*, *chān'a*, &c., are equivalent to Mr., Sir, Mrs., Madam, &c.³ Sir John Lubbock, in his well known work "On the Origin of Civilization,"⁴ points out the existence of a similar custom among the *Telugus* and *Tamils*.

7. In a table I have prepared,⁵ and which I believe to be fairly complete, there are about sixty terms, exclusive of equivalents, employed to denote the various degrees of relationship recognised by this race. It will there be seen that, as among the Australians near Sydney, mentioned by the Rev. W. Ridley,⁶ brothers and sisters speak of one another by titles that indicate relative age; that is, their words for brother and sister involve the distinction of elder or younger, while a like system is adopted in respect to half-brothers, half-sisters, consins, brothers-in-law, and sisters-in-law.

8. In addressing the relatives of a wife or husband, or a brother's wife, or sister's husband—provided such be senior to the speaker—the term *mām*⁷ is used.

9. A man or woman may not marry into the family of their brothers- or sisters-in-law, but there is no rule against a man marrying a girl bearing the same name as himself, either in another tribe or in his own community, the *only* bar being that of consanguinity or adoption. 582

10. The nearest of kin to a widow or widower are, (1) the grown-up children, (2) the parents, and (3) the brothers and sisters. 602

Proper Names—1. One of the alleged⁸ peculiarities of the 551

¹ Not "*Chama*," as given by Dr. Day.

² Vide next section, paragraph 3.

³ "According to Williams ('Fiji and the Fijians') their (i.e., the Fijian) languages contain expressions which exactly correspond to the French *Monsieur* and *Madame*." (Peschel, p. 346.)

⁴ Vide 4th edition, p. 164.

⁵ Vide Appendix I.

⁶ Vide "Journ. Anthropol. Inst.," vol. ii, p. 266.

⁷ This term is likewise employed in addressing a chief.

⁸ Vide Tickell.

APPENDIX I.

601

LIST OF TERMS INDICATING VARIOUS DEGREES OF RELATIONSHIP.

my father (male or female speaking) ..	dab mai'ola; dab chá-bil; dar ô'dinga.
my step-father " " ..	dab chá-bil.
my mother " " ..	dab chá'nola; dab ê'tinga; dab wê'jinga; dab wê'jeringa.
my step-mother " " ..	dab chá'nola.
my son (if under 3 years of age, either parent speaking)	di'a ô'ta. ¹
my son (if over 3 years of age, father speaking)	dar ô'dire; dar ô'di-yá'te.
my son (if over 3 years of age, mother speaking)	dab ê'tire; dab ê'ti-yá'te; dab wê'jire; dab wê'ji-yá'te; dab wê'jerire; dab wê'jeri-yá'te.
my daughter (if under 3 years of age, either parent speaking)	di'a ká'ta. ¹
my daughter (if over 3 years of age, either parent speaking)	di'a bá.
my daughter (if over 3 years of age, father speaking)	dar ô'dire-pail; dar ô'di-yá'te-pail.
my daughter (if over 3 years of age, mother speaking)	dab ê'tire-pail; dab ê'ti-yá'te-pail; dab wê'jire-pail; dab wê'ji-yá'te-pail; dab wê'jerire-pail; dab wê'jeri-yá'te-pail.
my grandson (either grand parent speaking)	di'a bá'lola.
my brother's grandson (male or female speaking)	
my sister's grandson (male or female speaking)	
my grand-daughter (either grand-parent speaking)	
my brother's grand-daughter (male or female speaking)	
my sister's grand-daughter (male or female speaking)	di'a bá'lola-pail.
my elder brother (male or female speaking)	ad-en tó'bare; ad-en tó'banga; ad-en tó'kare; ad-en tó'kanga.
my elder sister (male or female speaking)	ad-en tó'bare-pail; ad-en tó'banga-pail; ad-en tó'kare-pail; ad-en tó'kanga-pail.
my younger brother (male or female speaking)	dar dô'atinga; dá'ká kám; dar wê'jinga; dar wê'jeringa.
my younger sister (male or female speaking)	dar dô'atinga-pail; dá'ká kám-pail; dar wê'jinga-pail; dar wê'jeringa-pail.
my elder brothers (male or female speaking)	am-et tó'bare; am-et tó'banga; am-et tó'kare; am-et tó'kanga.

¹ Vide Appendix K.

my younger brothers (male or female speaking)	mar'at dō'atinga-; mak'at kām-; mar'at wē'jīnga-; mar'at wē'jeringa-.	60 ●
my elder sisters (male or female speaking)	ām-et tō'bare-pail-; am-et tō'bangapail-; am-et tō'kare-pail-; am-et tō'kanga-pail.	
my younger sisters (male or female speaking)	mar'at dō'atinga-pail-; mak'at kām-pail-; mar'at wē'jīnga-pail-; mar'at wē'jeringa-pail.	
my father's brother (elder or younger)	dā'a mā'a,	
my mother's brother		
my father's sister's husband		
my mother's sister's husband		
my father's father's brother's (or sister's) son		
my mother's mother's brother's (or sister's) son		
my husband's grandfather		
my wife's		
my wife's sister's husband (if elder)		
my husband's sister's husband (if elder)		
my father's sister (elder or younger)	dā'a chā'aola.	
my mother's sister		
my father's brother's wife		
my mother's brother's wife		
my grandmother, my grand-aunt		
my father's father's sister's daughter		
my mother's mother's sister's daughter		
my husband's grandmother		
my wife's		
my husband's sister (if senior and a mother)		
my elder brother's wife (if a mother)	dar bā.	
my brother's son (male or female speaking)		
my sister's son (male or female speaking)		
my half-brother's (or half-sister's) son, or my first-cousin's (male or female) son (male or female speaking)		
my brother's son's wife (male or female speaking)		
my sister's son's wife (male or female speaking)		
my half-brother's (or half-sister's) son's wife, or my first cousin's (male or female) son's wife (male or female speaking)		
my brother's daughter (male or female speaking)		
my sister's daughter (male or female speaking)		
my half-brother's (or half-sister's) daughter, or my first-cousin's (male or female) daughter (male or female speaking)		
my brother's daughter's husband (male or female speaking)	dar bā lai ik-yá'te.	
my sister's daughter's husband (male or female speaking)		
my half-brother's (or half-sister's) daughter, or my first-cousin's (male or female) daughter (male or female speaking)	dar bā-pail.	
my brother's daughter's husband (male or female speaking)		
my sister's daughter's husband (male or female speaking)	dar bā lā ik-yá'te.	
my brother's daughter's husband (male or female speaking)		

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my half-brother's (or half-sister's)	}	<i>dar bā lā ik-yā'te.</i>
daughter's husband, or my first-cousin's (male or female) daughter's husband (male or female speaking)		
my father's brother's son, if older (male or female speaking)	}	<i>dar chá-bil entó'bare; dar chá-bil entó'kare.</i>
my father's sister's son, if older (male or female speaking)		
my mother's brother's son, if older (male or female speaking)	}	<i>dar chá-bil entó'bare; dar chá-bil entó'kare.</i>
my mother's sister's son, if older (male or female speaking)		
my elder half-brother, whether uterine or consanguine (male or female speaking)	}	<i>dar chá-bil entó'bare; dar chá-bil entó'kare.</i>
my father's brother's son, if younger (male or female speaking)		
my father's sister's son, if younger (male or female speaking)	}	<i>dar chá-bil entó'bare; dar chá-bil entó'kare.</i>
my mother's brother's son, if younger (male or female speaking)		
my mother's sister's son, if younger (male or female speaking)	}	<i>dar chá-bil entó'bare; dar chá-bil entó'kare.</i>
my younger half-brother, if uterine (male or female speaking)		
my younger half-brother, if consanguine (male or female speaking)	}	<i>dar chá-bil entó'bare; dar chá-bil entó'kare.</i>
my father's brother's son's wife, if older (male or female speaking)		
my father's sister's son's wife, if older (male or female speaking)	}	<i>dar chá-bil entó'bare; dar chá-bil entó'kare.</i>
my mother's brother's son's wife, if older (male or female speaking)		
my mother's sister's son's wife, if older (male or female speaking)	}	<i>dar chá-bil entó'bare; dar chá-bil entó'kare.</i>
my elder half-brother's wife, whether uterine or consanguine (male or female speaking)		
my father's brother's son's wife, if younger (male or female speaking)	}	<i>dar chá-bil entó'bare; dar chá-bil entó'kare.</i>
my father's sister's son's wife, if younger (male or female speaking)		
my mother's brother's son's wife, if younger (male or female speaking)	}	<i>dar chá-bil entó'bare; dar chá-bil entó'kare.</i>
my mother's sister's son's wife, if younger (male or female speaking)		
the wife of my uterine half-brother, if younger (male or female speaking)	}	<i>dar chá-bil entó'bare; dar chá-bil entó'kare.</i>
the wife of my consanguine half-brother, if younger (male or female speaking)		
my father's brother's elder daughter (male or female speaking)	}	<i>dar chá-bil entó'bare; dar chá-bil entó'kare.</i>
my father's sister's elder daughter (male or female speaking)		
my mother's brother's elder daughter (male or female speaking)	}	<i>dar chá-bil entó'bare; dar chá-bil entó'kare.</i>
my mother's sister's elder daughter (male or female speaking)		

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my elder half-sister, whether uterine or consanguine (male or female speaking)	di'a chá' nol à-entó ba-yá-te.
my father's brother's younger daughter (male or female speaking)	
my father's sister's younger daughter (male or female speaking)	
my mother's brother's younger daughter (male or female speaking)	dar dū'atinga-pail.
my mother's sister's younger daughter (male or female speaking)	
my younger half-sister, if uterine (male or female speaking)	dá'kà kám-pail.
my younger half-sister, if consanguine (male or female speaking)	dar dū'atinga-pail; dar wē-jinga-pail; or dar wē-jeringa-pail.
my father's brother's elder daughter's husband (male or female speaking)..	
my father's sister's elder daughter's husband (male or female speaking)..	
my mother's brother's elder daughter's husband (male or female speaking)..	di'a chá' nol à-entó ba-yá-te lá ik-yá-te.
my mother's sister's elder daughter's husband (male or female speaking)..	
my elder half-sister's husband, whether uterine or consanguine (male or female speaking)	
my father's brother's younger daughter's husband (male or female speaking) .	
my father's sister's younger daughter's husband (male or female speaking)..	dar dū'atinga-pail lá ik-yá-te.
my mother's brother's younger daughter's husband (male or female speaking)	
my mother's sister's younger daughter's husband (male or female speaking)..	
the husband of my uterine half-sister, if younger (male or female speaking)	dá'kà kám pail lá ik-yá-te.
the husband of my consanguine half-sister, if younger (male or female speaking)	dar dū'atinga-pail- dar wē-jinga-pail- or dar wē-jeringa-pail- }
my grandfather (male or female speaking)	lá ik-yá-te.
my grandfather's brother (male or female speaking)	
my grandmother's brother (male or female speaking)	di'a mai'ola.
my elder sister's husband (male or female speaking)	
my husband	ad ik-yá-te.
my wife	dai ik-yá-te.
my husband's father	
my husband's mother	
my wife's father	
my wife's mother	di'a mū'mola.
my husband's elder brother	
my wife's brother (if older)	
my husband's sister's husband (if older)	
my wife's sister (if older ¹ and a mother)	

¹ Otherwise her name would be employed.

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my husband's brother's wife (if older)	di'a má'mola.
my wife's brother's wife (if older) ..	
my husband's brother (if of equal standing) ..	di'a má'ma.
my wife's brother (if of equal standing) ..	
my son-in-law (male or female speaking)	di'a ótô'niya.
my younger sister's husband (male or female speaking) ..	
my daughter-in law (male or female speaking) ..	
my husband's sister, if younger (male or female speaking) ..	di'a ótô'm.
my husband's brother's wife, if younger (male or female speaking) ..	
my wife's brother's wife, if younger (male or female speaking) ..	
my step-son (either speaking) ..	deb aden'ire.
my step-daughter (either speaking) ..	deb aden'ire-pail.
my adopted son ..	dôt chá'tnga.
my adopted daughter ..	dôt chá'tnga-pail.
my parents ..	dab mai-ol-chá'no!
my foster-father ..	dab mai-ót-chá'tnga.
my foster-mother ..	dab chin-ót-chá'tnga.
the relationship subsisting between a married couple's fathers-in-law ..	á'ká ya kát.
the relationship subsisting between a married couple's mothers-in-law ..	
my husband's brother (if younger) ..	dá'ká bá-bú'la.
my younger brother's wife ..	dá'ká bú-pail.
my wife's sister's husband (if younger)	mar, or (if a father) mara.
my husband's sister's husband (if younger) ..	
twins (whether of the same sex or not)	abdi'dinga.
widow ..	chán arlê'ba.
widower ..	mai arlê'ba.

Blood Groups from the Andaman and Nicobar Islands

By
S. S. SARKAR

The following blood group data were collected during the months of February-April, 1948 in the course of a visit to Little Andaman, Long Island and Car Nicobar by a party under Dr B. S. Guha from the Department of Anthropology, of which the present writer was a member. The data grouped according to the different tribes are as follows :—

ONGES

34 Onges, 19 males and 15 females, were grouped from the island of Little Andaman. They were collected from the settlements round about Bumila Creek, Dugong Creek and the village Tambebui on the N. E. part of the island. The blood group distribution is as follows :—

O	5	14.71%
A	23	67.65%
B	2	5.88%
AB	4	11.76%

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The predominance of group A was already noticeable from Chaudhuri's (Gates, 1940) earlier study of 5 Onges, 3 of whom belonged to A and 1 each to Group O and B.

This will be also apparent from the following pedigree, where three generations show only A.

